

Senator James O. Eastland

speaking to Joint Session of the Mississippi Legislature

January 29, 1948

MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
Post Office Box 571
Jackson., Mississippi 39205

AU 1000
SR 024
TR 014a

Speaker: Eastland, James O.

Introductions: Lumpkin, Sam; Sillers, Walter; Wright, Fielding

Title: Senator James O. Eastland speaking to Joint Session of the
Mississippi Legislature, January 29, 1948

AU 1000 – PART 1 OF 5

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 00:00-00:07 | [Dead Noise] |
| ANNOUNCER 1: | The time is now 2:30. We take you now to the House of Repre... Representatives in the Mississippi State College for a special broadcast. |
| 00:16-00:20 | [Dead Noise] |
| 00:20-00:25 | [Applause] |
| ANNOUNCER 2: | Hello, Jackson, Mississippi. At 2 o'clock this afternoon, the joint session was called to order. Walter Sillers, Speaker of the House, and, of course, is presiding. This afternoon, he will introduce Lieutenant Governor, Sam Lumpkin, who, in turn, will present Senator James O. Eastland, who will address this combined body. |
| 00:52 | [Sound of gavel] |
| SILLERS | The joint assembly of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi will come to order. Ladies and gentlemen of the Joint Convention, it is my privilege and honor to present to you the Honorable Sam Lumpkin, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Mississippi, who will preside over this joint session. Governor. |
| 01:12-01:18 | [Applause] |
| LUMPKIN: | Ladies and gentlemen of the Joint Session, it is now my privilege and pleasure to present to you the Governor of the State of Mississippi, the Honorable Fielding Wright, who will introduce the distinguished Senator. Governor Wright. |
| 01:32-01:39 | [Applause] |
| WRIGHT: | Governor Lumpkin, Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the legislature, and fellow Mississippians. This is an important occasion and it is fitting and proper that, at this time, we should assemble here to listen to a distinguished Mississippian discuss matters of vital importance to each of us individually, to our state and to our nation. These are critical times. The flags of danger are flying plainly to be seen. Evil and sinister forces are at work designed in planning the destruction of the traditions of the South, our institutions, and those things that we believe in, [working too] to the destruction of the sovereignty of the states of this union. And, if these aims and purposes are accomplished, then, not only our state and this section, but our nation as well is destroyed. Our Senior Senator has been designated by the people of Mississippi as our spokesman in the halls of the greatest deliberative body |

in the world, the United States Senate. Well and faithfully has he represented us there. He has taken a lead in the fight to preserve our very existence in the assault being made upon us. He has been one unafraid to speak when our section needed a defender, and it is fitting and proper that he should speak to us now and give us his views in this hour of trouble, and as we seek ways and means of again proving that we will not surrender the principles that we believe in. Those who have had the courage to speak in our defense are usually called demagogues or rebel rousers, and, possibly Senator Eastland has been so termed. Personally, I prefer to call him a [inaudible] statesman, and it is my privilege to present to you now our Senior Senator, James O. Eastland.

04:00-04:12 [Applause]

04:00-04:19 [Sounds of audience being seated]

EASTLAND: My friends, I very greatly appreciate the very kind words of introduction of my friend, Governor Wright. He has fearlessly taken the lead in preserving the integrity of the South's social institutions, and he is one of the first southern leaders who has stated publicly what I have heard a great many men in the South in position of leadership say privately. My friends, I am honored that you have invited me to come here and talk to you. Twenty years ago this month, I came to this body as a representative from Scott County. I guess I was the greenest man who ever came to the Mississippi Legislature. But I have found [audience laughter] that there's a man who remembers me. I sat over on the last row, the second seat. They called it then hell's half acre. My friends, the friends that I made here and the contacts that I made have been of the most valuable to me in my life. I know that the experience that I gained here has been invaluable. You know, the Senate of the United States and the [inaudible] Congress is very similar to the State Legislature, and, although we legislate for the entire country, I have found that practically the only difference was that your Congress is on a somewhat larger scale. You see, the same motives that control men, the whole thi... whole procedure is very, very similar. Whereas, a few years ago, your Congress legislated for the [sic] all the United States, as a result of the war, your country has assumed a position of world leadership. And your Congress, today, not only legislates for all of America, but it lays down the principles today largely that rule the world. We have, today, [too late?] to pass on the policies in Germany, Western Germany, in Japan, and, up until a few months ago, in Italy. We fought a great war. We thought at the close of that war that we would have peace and prosperity. We had been assured that on every side. And, today, my friends, two and a half years after the close of that war, there are more men under arms in the world today than at any other time. There are more people in concentration camps today than at any other time. There is more tyranny and oppression at loose in the world today than it is at any other time. And, for the first time in the

Christian era, you find millions of white people who are enslaved today. The first time in the Christian era that the doctrine of human slavery has been recognized as applying to the white race. At [Teheron?], at Yalta, and at Potsdam the leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union met, laid down policies there that would guide the post-war world. I'm frank to say that, at those meetings, [Marshall?] Stalin gained tremendous diplomatic victories. In fact, by giving to him the surplus producing food areas of the world, we practically turned the world over to him. And today, by the refusing to cooperate, he is demanding his pound of flesh and is demanding the world. It was agreed at those meetings that, in the post war world, no nation would attempt to force its will upon another nation. That all men, victors and vanquished alike, could choose a form of government in which they desired to live free from fear, free from oppression. And there was set up in each of the countries an allied control commission with all the representatives of all the powers comprising that commission. It was agreed that the Russian Army would occupy Eastern and part of Central Germany, the American and British Army, Western Germany. We later gave a zone to France. The United States and England were to occupy Italy, and the United States and China were to occupy Japan. The Allied Control Commission, comprising officers of all the countries, was to make the decisions carrying out the principles of justice and equality laid down by the heads of the three victorious governments. Those armies of the particular country occupying the country involved were to enforce those decisions. That was the theory. Then it was agreed that a United Nations organization would be set up to pool the military Resources of the world to enforce the peace. That was our dream. And yet, what happened? In 1945, as the victorious Russian armies swept over Central Europe, there followed in their wake conditions that are beyond human comprehension. The Christian era has never known such barbarism and such cruelty. As a rule, when a country was occupied, all people of leadership ability, in particular the classes of lawyers, doctors, businessmen, public officials, the lists were checked and the names of former public office holders were taken. Anybody that the Soviet Secret Service could ferret out who might oppose Communism was arrested, as were the other classes, and those classes were taken out and murdered. Trained Communists, trained for the purpose in Moscow, practically all of them citizens of that country, were brought into the country involved and placed in control of the government. Then the process of setting up a Communist state was carried on. We attempted to sec...to secure entrance in June 1945, for our officials in the Balkans on the Allied Control Commission. That was refused. And, finally, when pressure was brought, as in the case of Bulgaria, our representative were permitted to go to [Safar?], but only on certain streets in the town. They were watched. No one could talk to them, unless, or if so, that person were punished. The Red Army refused to carry out the orders of the Commission, and the Russian officials in charge refused to carry out the principles laid down by President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill,

and Mr. Stalin. In the year, 1945, 119 millions [sic] of people in Europe were taken behind the Iron Curtain. All the in flagrant disregard of the sacred word, if it is sacred, of the Soviet Union. 130 millions [sic] of people in Asia were taken in. In those countries, hundreds of thousands of people. In the case of Germany, practically the entire male pop... able-bodied male population of the Soviet zone were taken to Russia as slaves and are held there today in human slavery. Mr. Churchill, at that time, desired to stand his ground. He built up the British forces in Europe by approximately by more than a half million men, a half million more than were there when Germany surrendered. Our divisions from Italy were moved into Germany. It was perfectly apparent to those in control of your government at that time that Russia had embarked upon a policy of world conquest. We had some high officials who, with the British, desired to have a showdown at that time. Russia has a very weak air arm. Its flyers are trained not to fly, or not trained to fly over ten thousand feet. They can't navigate with instruments. And it was estimated that the great Air Force of the United States and Great Britain (and, my friends, we had, in 1945, the greatest Air Force in the world), it would take about 48 hours to get rid of the Russian Air Force. Russia has practically no motorized equipment but supplies its armies with horse and mule transport, and it was thought that within a week's flying weather those supply columns could be shot off the road and then there was nothing left but retreat back beyond the border. That plan, so I am informed, was turned down in this country on the ground that our people were not ready. During the war, we were fed propaganda as to the intentions of Russia and fed propaganda about the brave Red Army. Mr. Churchill desir... stood his ground. The dogs of the propaganda war were let loose upon the British all over the world. Chaos was created in Asia and in Indonesia to weaken the British Empire. Our own policy, at that time, was a policy of appeasement to get along the Russia and with Communism at all costs. Russia could not advance further, because the American Army occupied Western Germany and occupied France and the low countries in 1945. But, as we withdrew, Communist agents went in those countries.

END OF PART 1

AU 1000 – PART 2 OF 5

00:00-00:09

[Dead Noise]

EASTLAND:

... of agitation for Communist governments. There were strikes. Everything was done to prevent a return to normalcy, to prevent the recovery of those countries. Russia desired Turkey, because the eastern Mediterranean, from a viewpoint of the safety of your country, is a very critical area. In 1946, the Russian armies with [mechanized?] division were concentrated on the Turkish border. Mr. Churchill went to Fulton, Missouri, and made a speech in which he denounced Turkey and stated that further progression could

only lead to war. The reaction in the United States was so great in favor of Mr. Churchill's policies that Russia saw, if she progressed further, there would be armed conflict, and, so, she backed down. My friends, at that time, the policy...the foreign policy of your country changed from one of appeasement to the resolve that, for the safety of America, Communist expansion would be stopped even if it led to armed conflict. Russia is weak. Russia is weak industrially. Russia cannot wage a major war, and, so, her policy has been chaos, aggression, expansion short of war. Our country has adopted the policy that we will confront Russia with superior force at all times, and that that is the surest way for peace. We...your congress was asked last year to vote...to [inaudible] Turkish loans of about 400 millions of dollars. I received many letters from Mississippi in opposition to that program and criticizing me for having supported it. But, my friends, what are the facts? The Greek peninsula sticks down into the Mediterranean. Air bases there control the entire eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and the great oil deposits that your country owns in the Middle East. Oil deposits that are essential for our survival as a great power. With our depleted resources, we could not again fight a major war without those oil deposits. And we...if there were Communist air bases in Greece or in Turkey, your country could not defend its oil resources in the Middle East. And so, since Russia did not desire to openly show her hand, Communist guerillas trained by Mr. [Titov?] and equipped by Russia, were invading Greece. By building up the Greek Army, she has been able to stave them off. In the case of Turkey, you know, if the worst should come, we couldn't afford to drive across Europe a thousand miles to get to the vitals of the Soviet Union. But Turkey controls the Dardanelles. And beyond the Dardanelles is the Black Sea. The Black Sea reaches into the industrial heart of the Soviet Union. You have an invincible Navy; a Navy which Admiral [Valsey?] said could go any damn place it wanted to, if you will excuse that expression. That Navy could deliver through the Dardanelles, if we controlled them, American equipment, American arms, at the very industrial heart of Russia and her great industries. All of her oil fields are within the range of carrier-based bombers. In fact, as I understand, at [Baku?], where most of Russia's oil resources is concentrated, that they could be largely destroyed by one atomic bomb. [Baku?] is 100 miles from the Turkish frontier. If our Navy couldn't get there, American land-based aircraft from bases in Turkey could do the job. And so, we were building up then those two countries to checkmate Russia. Now, our country has come forward with a Marshall plan, and I congratulate your vision and statesmanship in passing a resolution asking the Congress to adopt that program. My friends, it is absolutely essential for the prosperity and welfare of your country. Western Europe has 270 millions of people. Its industrial capacity has been destroyed. There is no production there, and she does not have the agricultural land sufficient to feed her population. I hear arguments all the time that the people over there won't work, and that why should we send millions of dollars in food and equipment there. Now, let's see about that.

The scientists say that it takes two and half acres of food of..of land to produce the food to support a human being. We have, in Western Europe, less than one acre per capita. In Germany, our zone is capable, at its pre-war population, of supplying 75 per cent of 1500 calories of food a day. The French zone can supply 45 per cent; the British zone (which is the industrial [inaudible]) can supply roughly 22 per cent. 1500 calories a day is a starvation ration. Because of inadequate farm equipment, because of a shortage of fertilizer, and let me say at this point that the world fertilizer shortage is due solely to the fact that German plants are shut down, that Germany, before the war, produced 30 per cent of the entire world's supply of nitrogenous fertilizer. Here is a man with four little children. If he is a German, two of those children today are in the first stages of tuberculosis from malnutrition. The father has lost 40 pounds in weight from malnutrition. Do you think that man would sit there and see his babies literally starve to death because he didn't work waiting for a handout of 12 to 1400 calories a day from the United States? My friends, I have never seen people who were more anxious to work and rebuild their countries than the people in Western Europe. And that goes, in particular, for the Italians. I have never seen in this world the poverty that exists in Italy with a will to work and accomplish as is found on that continent. Western Europe has a production roughly five per cent greater than the production of the Soviet Union. If Russia should take her over, we would be that day a second-class power not able to defend ourselves. In fact, if Russia should take her over, your general staff estimates that it would take 70 per cent of the entire national income of America for the armed forces. President Roosevelt announced the doctrine, and it was certainly correct, that, if a hostile power ever secured the entrances to the Atlantic Ocean on the European continent or ever secured bases on the English Channel, that your country, for her own preservation, had no other alternative than to fight. And so, if Russia should take those countries over, it would...your country would have to take up arms immediately to prevent it, because, when they are Communized, we could not defend ourselves. After Fulton, Missouri, when we stood our ground against Russia, agitation was started against us. There began in the Soviet Union feverish preparations for war. There are today over two millions of men under arms concentrated at places or deployed at...at pla...at strategic places for use against our forces in Europe. She wages a propaganda war against us. She is waging an economic war against your country. She is training her people today that war with the United States is inevitable. She frankly states that a capitalistic society and a communist society cannot live in the world side by side and at peace, that one will destroy the other. And, just as fast as she can, she is placing her country on a war-footing at this time. And so, through the Marshall Plan, if we build up Europe's industry where she can produce, put her on her own feet, we have allies instead of enemies in Western Europe. And it won't be necessary then for American boys to stand guard on the [Elba?] River against communist expansion as is the case today with Europe

destroyed. It is estimated that the program will cost 17 billions of dollars. My friends, that is a...that is what it cost us, based on 1945 expenditures to fight the war only four or five months. That is not 10 per cent what it would cost us to arm this country if we should lose Western Europe. And you have the Communists there with the surplus producing food areas. You have wide starvation in Western Europe. You have Russia telling them, "Come on with us. We've got your food areas. If you want to eat, join us. If you don't want your children to starve to death, join us." That is a very powerful cry to a man whose children are undernourished. Under the plan, those countries will pool their resources, pool their labor, pool their electric power, pool their coal production, to help themselves. If we don't enter that program, you are going to find that this country will be in depression in a very few months. We cannot retain, in this country, maximum production as we are doing now if we don't have export outlets for our products, and Europe cannot buy today because she has no production and nothing to sell us. When her industries are put on their feet, she can do business with us, can pay us for the products, and there will no longer be the necessity for charity. Germany is the key to Europe. It has supplied the machine tools and replacements for all of European industry. An illustration of that is Italy. You take your farm implements in Italy are of German manufacture. The German plants are shut down. They can't get supply parts for Italy from Germany. Consequently, Italy cannot produce food, and, as a result, the United States is required to ship food there. And so, in my judgment, the Marshall Plan will win the peace. It would be a very cheap investment, indeed, if it did win the peace. But when the readjustment comes after the war, if we don't have production there and someone to trade with, I don't know what can bring our country out of that depression. After the last war, we extended credits. You had in the German textile industry 18 months after the close of the war running at 98 per cent of capacity. Those markets that were created pulled us out of that depression. But with the country devastated as it is, with Europe devastated as it is, there would be nothing to pull us out when the day of reckoning comes after these times.

END OF PART 2

AU 1000 – PART 3 OF 5

EASTLAND:

Ladies and gentlemen, I am alarmed at the actions of some of my colleagues in the Senate of the United States. The peace after World War I was sabotaged. Nobody fought the League of Nations directly. It was fought by reservation and by amendment. It was killed, it was crucified, in that manner. And I see the same thing happening today [inaudible] to kill this great program by amendments, by reservations, to cut its heart out. I often wonder if my good friend, Senator Bob [Tal?] is not following the same foot-path as that followed by Henry Cabot Lodge when he sabotaged the peace after World War I and laid the stage for World War III when the

world was bathed in blood. When Europe is built up, when we have allies there, there is one more step that is absolutely essential for your country's safety, and that is universal military training. Some of our school friends and some of our churches are against that program. My friends, you know the constitution of the United States, and the first duty that it places upon the Congress is that of preparing the public defense of this country. And when we are face to face with an aggressor that is feverishly preparing for war, that says war with your country is inevitable, that says that your country will destroy them or they will destroy us, I think that a man with the responsibility would be derelict in his duty, knowing those things, if he did not do everything within his power to arm his country and make her impregnable to attack.

02:39-02:46

[Applause]

EASTLAND:

Governor Wright has done the South a great service in taking the stand that he has for our social institutions, for our way of life, and to retain the sovereignty of the states from encroachment by the federal government. This fight on...[Applause] on states' rights bears down simply to this; whether or not the government of the United States has the right to judge in the last resort to the extent of its power. And if it secures that right, the South that we know and love will be destroyed. My friends, the people of the South have a historic decision to make. The South faces a great dilemma. We are all Democrats. The seat of the real Democratic Party is below the Mason and Dixon line. [Applause] The foundation of the Democratic Party is here in the South. Through victory, through adversity, our people have been loyal Democrats, and, today, we are being penalized because of our loyalty to the Democratic Party. And that alone is the cause of the condition, the situation, which now confronts our people. It boils down simply to this. We are loyal. We are Democrats. We'll support the party nominees regardless of who they are, regardless of what the issues are. We're in the bag. The Republicans know that they can get no help, no political support, from the southern states, and, so, they care nothing about us. The Democrats, the democratic leadership north of the Mason and Dixon line, will do nothing to protect us, cares nothing about us, as long as we're in the bag. In fact, our social institutions are despised today by all political leaders of the two major parties and by Mr. Wallace's group north of the Mason and Dixon line. During the reconstruction period, the Republican Party attempted to destroy the South. They attempted to create Negro republics here. They attempted to make us permanently a colony of the industrial East and to hold us down permanently to low living standards. They attempted to destroy the integrity of the white race. They attempted to bring about racial amalgamation. My friends, there has been few times in history that such a harsh...that such harsh peace...that such a harsh peace settlement has been made as that given the South after the Civil War. The Democratic Party of that day took our part. They stood shoulder to shoulder

with us in the Congress. They did everything within their power to retain the Constitution and to help the South, and that was the reason that we are Democratic. But we didn't save ourselves. The Supreme Court of the United States at that time, true to its oath to support and interpret the Constitution, declared unconstitutional the vicious, horrible, anti-southern bills that passed the Congress in the hate of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner. In 1876, there was a contest between Hayes and Tilden for the Presidency. I get it pretty straight; I think it's true, in fact, I know it's true that a great Senator from Mississippi, a great Southerner, a great American, Senator Lamar, made a deal with the Republicans that that election would be thrown to the Republican candidate provided federal troops were removed from the South and provided our people were left alone. Those votes were thrown. The Republican candidate, Mr. Hayes, became President of the United States. He withdrew those soldiers and from that time until 1937, the South was not molested. During that time, we built up a racial system in the South that is the envy of any section of the world where the two races in great numbers live side by side. Of course, it was built upon segregation. There's not a country in the world that has a color problem similar to ours, but that does not adopt the identical safeguards to protect its racial integrity that have been adopted by the Southern people. Every decent Southerner wants a Negro to have a square deal. Every decent Southerner wants a Negro to enjoy the fruits of his labor. Every decent Southerner wants a Negro to prosper and do well and make a good citizen. The only rule that we of the South lay down is that he must stay out of politics, because he would use the power of the ballot to destroy the laws on which our social structure is built. We've got to give him better schools, we've got to give him better hospitals, we've got to give him better health programs. But the only question is that he stay out of political affairs. We of the South are in an intolerable situation. Beginning in 1937, I have seen the storm clouds gather. I have seen them become darker. I have seen conditions become more threatening. I have seen the South driven back and back and back until today, frankly, our back is to the wall. Our own party, the Democratic Party, raised its banner of social equality and the destruction of segregation, the destruction of our social safeguards in the South. That cry was immediately taken up by the Republican Party, because the Republican Party cannot look to us for help. But there is a contest in the North for the favors of those groups. Under the banner of liberalism, you find the minority groups there intensely organized. You find them with a program for our destruction. And you find both political parties attempting to curry favor with them. The attack upon us is two-fold, through the Supreme Court of the United States and through the Congress. Our own Democratic Party, at this time is attempt...is attempting to barter our institutions in the South for the favors of the Northern mongrel groups. Now, my friends, what...what are they? What are those organizations? There is a National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race, one of the most powerful organizations in this country; an organization nationwide that

votes 10 to one for the program that its leaders endorsed and carry out the orders of its leader, Walter White, a Negro, who I am frank to say, has more power in your government than all the southern states combined because they are politically hot. They vote their own interests regardless of party labels. The CIO, the Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, the Federal Council of Churches in America; those organizations are interlocked, and they interlock with the Communist Party. When a man announces for Congress or for Senator in a northern or western state, he's called on, not by one delegation but by hundreds to know how are you going to vote on the anti-poll tax bill, on FEPC, on the anti-lynching bill. What do you believe about segregation? And then, in the past few years, they have added, how are you going to vote on (closure?) to shut off the filibuster in the United States Senate? Of course, those candidates, most of them, where they would lose many votes in the North by refusing to make such an agreement agree to go along and support those programs.

END OF PART 3

AU 1000 – PART 4 OF 5

00:00-00:12

[Dead Noise]

EASTLAND:

When one of those bills is up, there haunts the galleries and the corridors of your Capitol, mongrels...blacks and tans and yellows and browns and whites...by the hundreds, calling on senators and members of Congress, threatening them with political reprisal unless they go down the line on this program to destroy the South. If it is a state without a large Negro population, the CIO takes up the cry and brings the pressure and puts on the heat for social equality and racial amalgamation. I've had senators from New England to tell me, when FEPC was under extended discussion two years ago, that they had letters from practically every minister and church society in their states favoring that bill. Of course, the people who wrote the letters did not know the meaning of such a vicious proposal. It has been submitted to a vote of the people in 12 states of this country and they... and in each of those states it has been defeated. And, because they have been defeated in the states, they have come to the Congress for national legislation. That bill is not primarily aimed at the South. It's aimed at segregation in every section of this country, because, in the northern states, where they do not have legal segregation, the races segregate themselves. And I have noticed that the politicians and some Supreme Court judges who rail out against segregation lead very segregated lives themselves. [Applause] Now, what are the issues? Let's take the anti-poll tax bill. That bill provides that the poll tax shall not be a qualification for voting in a federal election; in an election for congressman, senator and presidential elector. I hear a lot of people in Mississippi tell me said, "Why, Eastland, we don't care anything about the poll tax. It's not one of our real

safeguards, and, anyway, that it wouldn't apply to elections for the legislature and our county and state offices, because, under the bill, it's limited to federal offices." Well, now, let's see about that. The fight there, as these mongrel organizations know, goes much deeper. The Constitution of the United States says that the qualifications of a voter for congressman shall be the same qualifications as that fixed by the state for a voter for an elector for a member of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. In other words, when the state of Mississippi fixes the qualifications of a voter for elect, for a voter who votes to send you to the House of Representatives in Jackson, under the Constitution, those qualifications automatically become the qualifications of a voter for congressman. Under the 17th amendment, the same applies to a United States senator. Now, if the American congress has the authority to say the poll tax is not a qualification to vote, it has the authority to say that every other safeguard we have are not qualifications to vote. And then, conversely, if the Congress has the authority to say that certain things are not qualifications, then Congress has the authority to define what are qualifications. And, then, you have transferred to the Congress the qualifications of electors for senator, congressman, and presidential elector. But listen, the constitution says the qualifications for your congressman and your senator shall be the same qualifications for a voter for the House of Representatives in the state of Mississippi. They've got to be the same. And so, when that power is transferred to Washington and your Congress writes those qualifications, they have fixed the qualifications for voters for the hou...for the legislature in this state and for the county offices in the state of Mississippi. Those organizations know that and that is the real fight on that proposal in the national Congress. We have FEPC, a bill, of course, that violates the Constitution, as does the anti-poll tax bill. The people who advocate it could not seriously question the constitutionality of those measures. But FEPC, here's what would do as in... as it did in the city of Baltimore. During the war, when we had a temporary FEPC without pol...without powers, they went to a shipyard there and told them that they had to...to furnish common washrooms and common restaurants for the employees of that yard, that there could be no segregation. They would take a Negro and tell management that he had... that they had to make him a foreman and put him in a supervisory capacity. You have discrimination in industry in every section of this country, and, yet, that bill could go into private business, tell that business who it could hire, tell that business who it must promote, and transfer one of the attributes of property ownership from management to the government of the United States. And there is even a provision in that bill that seeks to lodge in the FEPC board the power to overrule our segregation statutes in the state of Mississippi. My friends, this is not a fairy tale. I know a great many profound lawyers in your Congress. They know those measures are unconstitutional, but I haven't heard a one of them, regardless of what side of the question he's on, but who states if those measures, if they pass the Congress, would prob...would be declared constitutional by

the Court. But, of course, no one knows what the Supreme Court of the United States would do. But I tell you that the very best from our viewpoint is that, in all probability, they would be upheld. And there is your anti-lynching bill, a bill which would give the federal government the power to go...to invade the police powers of the states and make crimes that come within the (pervue?) solely of the police powers of the states a federal offense. These things all get up to the abolition of all forms of segregation in this country. And I tell you, frankly, that as far as legal segregation is concerned, the South's back is to the wall. The Attorney General of the United States filed a letter with the Senate Judiciary Committee in which he requested the Senate Judiciary Committee to defer action on the anti-lynching bill, because he was sending up, at the request of the democratic leadership, a general civil rights bill that would include the anti-lynching provisions, and he thought that we should consider them altogether. There's another fear. You know, segregation...we don't have many restrictive covenants in the South, but, in the eastern and northern cities, white people provide that property in a certain area can only be sold to someone of the Caucasian race. That thing...restrictive covenants are as old as Angle-Saxon law. Time and time again, they have been upheld by the federal courts and by the Supreme Court of the United States. And yet, there pends today in the United States Supreme Court an appeal from the court of last resort of Missouri, of Illinois, and of Michigan, which seeks to declare those covenants unconstitutional. A suit between private individuals, a suit between the person of the race who attempted to buy property in a white section and the white citizen. The federal government was not involved, and, yet, the Attorney General of the United States goes, in that case, as a friend of the court and files a brief to declare those covenants unconstitutional, and I want to read you the basis of that brief as found in his conclusion. The case is *Shelly vs. Kramer, et al* and I quote the Attorney General of the United States. Listen at this. "Segregation, rooted in ignorance, bigotry, and prejudice and nurture by the opportunities it affords for monetary gains from the supposed beneficiaries and real victims alike, does not exist...does exist because private racial restrictions are enforced by courts. These covenants are injurious to our order, because they're segregated...segregation and productive of growing antagonism destructive of the integrity of our society." End quote. In other words, segregation destroys the integrity of our society. There's a brief that's pending now in the Supreme Court of the United States in a case that has not been decided. I noticed, a few weeks ago, that the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Harriman, sent a report to the Congress in which he stated that over at the national airport in the state of Virginia, the employees of that airport were segregated. They had separate eating and rest facilities. They worked separately. You had white men over the white lady employees who worked there. Virginia has a Jim Crow law, and he says that he was powerless to abolish segregation unless Congress decreed it, and asked Congress to pass an act permitting him to abolish segregation there for the reason he says was

that segregation is against our policies. Mr. Harriman, a man who lives a very exclusive and segregated life, and, yet, who would deny that privilege to the poor girl who had to work for a living. My friends, Mr. Dewey, in 1944, the first thing he did when he was nominated for president was to promise social equality. Of course, he was trying to use the Negroes. But, had he been elected and although it was political, he would have gone through, as best he could, with that program. And while I do not know, it looks to me as if our own party has deliberately adopted that policy. Somebody says that we can't have it in the platform, that, if they put it in the platform, that they're want to abolish segregation or want social equality, we won't go along with it. Well, now, that's weak. We not only don't want it in the platform, we don't want it passed. And we don't want our party attempting to humiliate the South. And we don't want our party bartering our social structure for the favors of these red mongrel groups in the North. [Applause]

END OF PART 4

AU 1000 - PART 5 OF 5

00:06-00:11

[Applause]

EASTLAND:

The South has used just one defense, and that was filibuster in the United States Senate. I would be less than frank if I told you that the filibuster was a solution to this problem. It, my friends, is nothing but a temporary expedient and, mark my words, it will be overcome. It is purely defensive, it is purely a delaying action. The solution lies much deeper than that. The solution lies with the people. A few years ago, in 1943 and 1944, a majority of the Senate of the United States would vote against closure. I see us getting weaker and weaker until today a majority of the United States Senate votes for closure through the power of these groups. As I told you, our back is to the wall, and we are going to be deprived of that defense. If I know the signs, and it is my candid judgment, that the South as we know is being swept to its destruction. It is a real danger. It is an eminent danger, and, if the people have a will to stop it, they can. [Applause] No one can figure democratic success without the South. Every guess, every prophecy, is based upon a united South. A South that will go with the Democratic Party through thick and thin. In fact, we control, in the South, 127 electoral votes. These organizations that control our party, that control the Republican Party, and those two parties are no more than errand boys or body servants for those organizations, don't control any electoral votes. And, yet, they exercise more power than an area with 127 votes in the bag. A sleeping giant. If we would threaten, and mean it, to withhold those electoral votes, you'd stop the democratic party in its tracks. [Applause] It wouldn't take...would not take 127. 70 votes would do it. 60 votes, in my judgment, would do it. Why, that's more votes than the hottest political

state in this union, the state of New York. One state would be very, very influential. The Democratic Party cannot go without us, and, if our people have the will to avert destruction, that will turn the trick. The statement is made that we...we that that's a question that's got to be solved in the Democratic Party. Such a course, my friends, would destroy the South. When we had the two-thirds rule, we could keep the brake on. But, when we send delegations to a national convention, and unite those delegations and tell them to take care of us, we have given them an impossible task, because, as long as they know we are gonna give 'em the electoral votes of the South, they are going right on and give us no consideration. We must, if the South is saved, make them realize that, unless this program is stopped, that unless this fight on our institutions is stopped, we will withhold from them our electoral votes. It with...it is just as simple as that. Suppose the South got together and gave its vote to a distinguished southerner...why, I've heard the statement made that we...that, if we did that, we'd be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. That we'd be wasting our vote and electing a republican. Well, let's see about that. The chances are nine to one that you'd throw that election into the House of Representatives in which each state has one vote. Each delegation the congressmen from that state meet, and, as a majority vote, that state's one vote goes. In each of those cases, in my considered judgment, if there was that contest, a southern man would emerge as President of the United States. [Applause] You see, the Constitution says the three...who get the three highest electoral votes will be considered by the House of Representatives. Your Republicans would take a southern democrat before they would a northern democrat. Your northern democrat would take a southern democrat before he would a republican. [Applause] We would be the most powerful section of the country. We are, today, a sleeping giant. That, if our people would but act, they could make the South the most powerful section of this country. Of course, one state can't...would...couldn't do it. But the thing has got to start somewhere. It would grow like a snowball. The people of the South are tired of being imposed on. [Applause] I hold in my hand the bible of southernism, the works of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, America's greatest statesman, the greatest leader of all the great leaders of the South. And here, beginning at page 368, I'm not going to take time to read you one page, but conditions that he describes there that existed in the 1850's are identical with conditions today. The way the parties acted at that time were identical to the way the parties are acting today. Mr. Calhoun predicted the Civil War, and he outlined what it would take to save the South from degradation and from destruction, and that was to go back to the Constitution, act as a unit and let our presidential electors protect our social structure. [Applause] There is a great leader of the South, one of the creators of the democratic party, a man who loved the democratic party, but a man who loved the South, her people, her customs, and her culture more than he did any other consideration. My friends, if this anti-southern movement is right, then Jefferson Davis and Calhoun and Lee were wrong.

If it's right, Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner were right. And Lamar, Walthall, and George were wrong. What do you think the man would do, what advice would he give those today who lead the South? That man who wore the gray, that man who gave his all for Dixie, if that man who sleeps in those graves that dot old Virginia's hills could walk in today, what advice do you think he would give the South? I thank you.

11:43- 12:02

[Applause]

ANNOUNCER 1: Ladies and gentlemen, for the last hour and 20 minutes, you have been listening to an address by Senator James O. Eastland, as he made a report from Washington to a combined session of the Mississippi legislature. [Sound of gavel] He spoke to you from the House of Representatives before the joint session...this joint session which was called to order at two o'clock. He made an earnest plea for the Marshall Plan, made an earnest plea for universal military training. At various points during his address, he received a great deal of applause as you probably heard over the microphone. [Applause heard in the room] Senator Wright's...I beg your pardon...Governor Wright's call to summon democrats to southern democrats to succeed from the national party unless leaders abandon anti-southern legislation met with quick and hearty approval among the state legislators, and day before yesterday a combined resolution of both houses invited Senator Eastland to make this address before the combined houses. Now that the address is over, we find the representatives and senators arising, preparing to leave. Senator Eastland is being congratulated on his address. It seems that, generally speaking, the crowd is very pleased with the remarks they have heard this afternoon. We've been on the air since two-thirty and, since this address by Senator Eastland was the...the focal point for this combined session, since the address is now completed, we will return you to our studios. This is Pat Halberson speaking and we will return you to the studios of WRBC.

ANNOUNCER 3: This is Rebel WRBC, Jackson serving Mississippi.

ANNOUNCER 4: This is Franklin McCormick presenting the Soul Easy Singers.

[Sounds of men's voices singing]

END OF RECORDING

INDEX

Agriculture, Western Europe – 3, 5, 6, 7
Air Force - 4
Allied Powers - 1
Anti-lynching bill – 10, 12
Anti-poll tax bill – 10, 11
Anti-southern legislation – 9, 14, 15
Calhoun, John C. - 14
Churchill, Winston – 3, 4, 5
Civil rights - 12
Civil War – 8, 14
Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax - 10
Communism – 3, 4
Communist Party – 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10
Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) - 10
Constitution – 8, 9, 11, 12, 14
Democratic Party – 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15
Discrimination - 11
Electoral votes – 10, 11, 13, 14
Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) – 10, 11
Federal Council of Churches in America - 10
Federal government – 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Filibuster – 10, 13
Foreign policy - 5
Germany – 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
Greece - 5
Industry, Western Europe – 5, 6, 7, 8, 11
Iron Curtain - 4
Italy – 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
Japan – 2, 3
Jim Crow law - 12

Lamar, L. Q. C. – 9, 14
League of Nations - 7
Liberalism - 9
Lodge, Henry Cabot – 7, 11
Lumpkin, Sam - 1
Marshall Plan – 5, 6, 7, 15
Mediterranean – 4, 5
Minority groups - 9
Mississippi Legislature – 1, 2, 10, 11, 15
National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race - 9
Navy - 5
Negro – 8, 9, 10, 11, 13
North Africa - 5
Oil - 5
Peace – 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
Propaganda – 4, 6
Public defense - 8
Racial system in the South - 9
Red Army – 3, 4
Republican Party – 8, 9, 13, 14
Roosevelt, Franklin D. – 3, 6
Russian military – 3, 4
Segregation – 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
Senate Judiciary Committee - 12
Sillers, Walter - 1
Slavery – 3, 4
Southern politics - 9
Southern social institutions – 2, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14
Southern traditions - 1
Southern way of life - 8
Sovereignty of the states – 1, 8

Soviet Secret Service - 3
Soviet Union – 3, 4, 5, 6
Stalin, Joseph – 3, 4
Stevens, Thaddeus – 9, 14
Sumner, Charles - 9, 14
Turkey – 4, 5
United Nations - 3
United States Congress – 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14
United States Senate – 2, 7, 10, 12, 13
United States Supreme Court – 9, 10, 12
White race – 3, 8, 10, 12
World War I - 7
World War II – 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11
Wright, Fielding – 1, 2, 8, 15